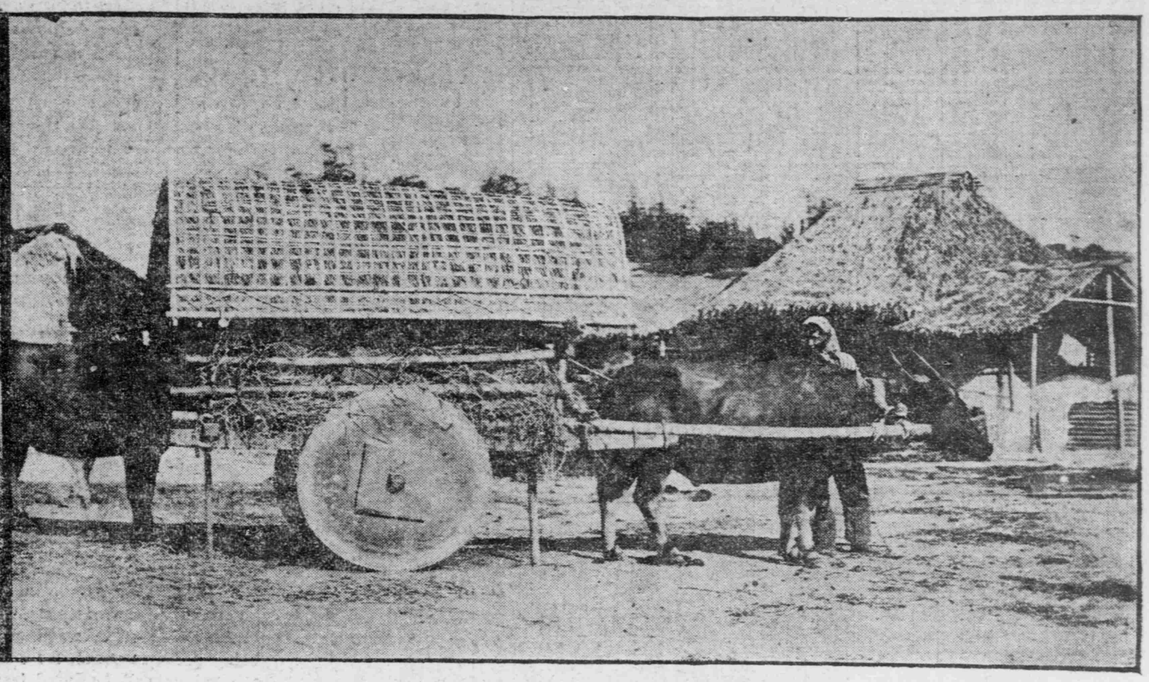
THE SALT LAKE HERALD.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, SUNDAY, APRIL 22, 1906

MAGAZINE SECTION.

William Jennings Bryan Advocates Philippine Independence.

Filipino Boys With the Blow Gun.



Cariboo Cart Driver at San Fernando, Pampango, P. I.

Singapore, Jan. 22, 1906.—Having in previous articles discussed the conditions as I found them in the Philippines, let us consider what the United States should do in regard to the Filipinos and their islands.

First, as to the northern group of islands—the islands north of Mindanao. Have the Filipinos a right to self-government? Do they desire self-government and independence? Have they the capacity for self-government?

The first question must be answered in the affirmative, if our theory of government is correct. That governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is either true or false; if true, we cannot deny its application to the Filipinos; if false, we must find some other foundation for our own government.

The second question I am able to answer, yes. My visit to the Philippines has settled this question in my mind. I have heard people in America affirm that the intelligent Filipinos preferred American sovereignty to self-government, but this is unqualifiedly false. Captain J. A. Moss, a member of General Corbin's personal staff, recently made a trip through the provinces of Pampanga, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan and published a journal of his trip in one of the Manila papers upon his return. He concluded his observations as follows: "The discharged soldiers who are married to native women and who are 'growing up with the country,' and are, therefore, in a most excellent position to feel the native pulse, all told me the great majority of the natives have no use for us. Ex-interpreters and other Filipinos with whom I was on intimate, cordial relations while serving in the provinces, told me the same thing. I have, therefore, from the foregoing, come to the conclusion that the Filipinos may be divided into three classes: (a) The 'precious few,' comprising those who are really friendly towards the Americans and think our government beneficial to the islands; (b) those who are in some way beneficiaries of the government and entertain for us what may be termed 'expedient friendship'; (c) the great majority have absolutely no use for us and to please whom we cannot get out of the islands any too soon."

Strong Feeling for Independence.

The conclusion drawn by Captain Moss is warranted by the facts, and the feeling for independence is stronger in Manila, if possible, than in the provinces. I talked with Filipinos, official and unofficial, and while they differed in the degree of friendliness which they felt toward the United States, all expected ultimate independence. The college students of Manila in the various law schools, medical colleges and engineering schools, numbering in all about 1,000, prepared and presented to me a memorial of more than fifty printed pages. This was prepared by sub-committees, and afterwards discussed, adopted and signed by the students. It presented an elaborate review of the economic, industrial and political situation, viewed from the standpoint of these young men. It criticised certain acts of the American government thought to be unjust and set forth arguments in favor of self-government and independence—arguments so fundamental and so consistent with American ideals that no American statesman would have publicly disputed them ten years ago.

The Filipinos point out that the Americans lack that sympathy for, and interest in, the Filipino necessary to just legislation, and this argument is no reflection upon the good intentions of Americans. In fact, good intention is generally admitted, but Americans at home recognize, as do Filipinos here, that good intentions are not all that is required. We have in the United States men of equal general intelligence, but differing so in sympathy that no amount of good intent can keep one from doing what the others regards as unjust. Take, for instance, the representative capitalist and the average laboring man; neither would feel that the other, however well meaning, was competent to speak for him.

Argue for Home Rule.

The Filipinos also deny that the Americans are sufficiently acquainted with Philippine affairs to legislate wisely. We also recognize the force of this argument at home, and we leave the people of each state to act upon their own affairs. The people of a city would resent interference in their local affairs by the people of the country, although identical in race and language. And they would resent just as much the attempt of any group of men, however wise, to direct their government during a temporary residence. How, then, can congress expect to legislate wisely for people who are not only separated from America by the widest of the oceans, but different from the people of the United States in color, race, history and traditions? How can a body of men, however benevolent and intelligent, hope by a few months' residence to so identify themselves with the Filipinos as to make rules and regulations suited to their needs?

American Government Costly.

The Filipinos also present an argument against the expensiveness of American rule, and this argument is not only unanswerable, but it is directed against an evil which is without remedy. If Americans are to hold office in the Philippines they must be well paid. They must not only receive as much as they would receive in the United States for the same work, but they must receive more in order to compensate them for services so far from home. This is not only theoretically true, but the theory is exemplified in the pay roll. The governor general receives $20,000 a year, two-fifths of the salary of the president of the United States, and yet, what a contrast between the duties and responsibilities of the two positions! And what a difference, too, in the wealth of the two countries and in the ability of the taxpayers of the two countries to pay the salaries!

The three American members of the commission (excluding the governor-general) receive $15,000 per year, almost twice the salary of cabinet officers and three times the salary of senators and members of congress. It is true that these salaries do not appear as salaries paid for work on the commission, but as each American member of the commission receives $10,000 as head of a department and $5,000 as a member of the commission, his total income is $15,000, while the Filipino members of the commission receive but $5,000.

The members of the Philippine supreme court receive $10,000 each (the Filipino members of the court receiving the same as the Americans), a sum much larger than that usually paid to judges in the United States in courts of similar importance. This high range of salaries runs through the entire list of civil officials, and there is no chance of lowering it. Except in the case of judges, the Filipino officials, as a rule, receive considerably less than the Americans performing similar work, and this is a constant source of complaint. To Americans it is a sufficient answer to say that high salaries are necessary to secure able and efficient officials from the United States, but the Filipino is quick to respond: "Why, then, do you insist upon sending us Americans to do what our people can do and would do for less compensation?"

Sample American Foolishness.

Not only must the salaries of Americans be high, but Americans must be surrounded with comfort to which the average Filipino is not accustomed. No one can remain in the Philippines long without hearing of the Benguet road and the enormous amount expended in its construction. There is a mountain resort in Benguet province, in north central Luzon, which the commission thought might be developed into a summer capital or a place to which the families of the officials, if not the officials themselves, might retreat during the heated term. The railroad running from Manila to Dagupan would carry the health-seeker to within thirty or forty miles of Benguet, and an engineer estimated that a wagon road could be constructed the rest of the way for $75,000. It seemed worth while to the commission to appropriate that much for a purpose which promised so much for the health and comfort of those engaged in the benevolent work of establishing a stable government. The commission could hardly be blamed for relying upon the opinion of the engineer, and the engineer doubtless meant well. But the first appropriation scarcely made an impression, and the second engineer estimated that the cost would be a little greater. Having invested $75,000, the commission did not like to abandon the plan, and so further appropriations were made until more than $2,500,000 in gold have been drained from the insular treasury, and the Benguet road is not yet completed. If it is ever completed, it will require a constant outlay of a large sum annually to keep it in repair.

Having met the members of the commission and other Americans residing in the Philippines, I am glad to testify that they are as a rule men of character, ability and standing. The personnel of Philippine official life is not likely to be improved, and so long as we occupy the islands under a colonial policy, the Benguet experiment is liable to be repeated in various forms, and yet the Filipinos point to the Benguet folly to illustrate both ignorance of local conditions and partiality toward the foreign population.

Capable of Self Government.

The third question: Are the Filipinos competent to govern themselves? is the one upon which the decision must finally turn. Americans will not long deny the fundamental principles upon which our own government rests, nor will they upon mature reflection assert that foreigners can sympathize as fully with the Filipino as representatives chosen by the Filipinos themselves. The expensiveness of a foreign government and its proneness to misunderstand local needs will be admitted by those who give the subject any thought, but the well-meaning persons may still delude themselves with the belief that Spanish rule has incapacitated the present generation for wisely exercising the franchise or that special conditions may unfit the Filipinos for the establishment and maintenance of as good a government as can be imposed upon them from without.

Before visiting the Philippines I advocated independence on the broad ground that all people are capable of self-government—not that all people, if left to themselves, would maintain governments equally good, or that all people are capable of participating upon equal terms in the maintenance of the same government, but that all people are endowed by their Creator with capacity to establish and maintain a government suited to their own needs and sufficient for their requirements. To deny this proposition would, as Henry Clay suggested more than half a century ago, be to impeach the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator. I advocated independence for another reason, viz.: because a refusal to admit the Filipinos capable of self-government would tend to impair the strength of the doctrine of self-government when applied to our own people. Since becoming acquainted with the Filipinos I can argue from observation as well as from theory, and I insist that the Filipinos are capable of maintaining a stable government without supervision from without. I do not mean to say that they could maintain their independence, if attacked by some great land-grabbing power, but that so far as their own internal affairs are concerned, they do not need to be subject to any alien government. There is a wide difference, it is true, between the general intelligence of the educated Filipino and the intelligence of the laborer on the street and in the field, but this is not a barrier to self-government. Intelligence controls in every government, except where it is suppressed by military force. Where all the people vote, the intelligent man has more influence than the unintelligent one, and where there is an obvious inequality, a suffrage qualification usually excludes the more ignorant.

Take the case of the Japanese, for instance, no one is disposed to question their ability to govern themselves and yet the suffrage qualifications are such that less than one-tenth of the adult males are permitted to vote. Nine-tenths of the Japanese have no part in law-making, either directly or through representatives, and still Japan is the marvel of the present generation. In Mexico the gap between the educated classes and the peons is fully as great, if not greater, than the gap between the extremes of Filipino society, and yet Mexico is maintaining a stable government, and no party in the United States advocates our making a colony of Mexico on the theory that she cannot govern herself.

Those who question the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government overlook the stimulating influence of self-government upon the people; they forget that responsibility is an educating influence, and that patriotism raises up persons fitted for the work that needs to be done. Those who speak contemptuously of the capacity of the Filipino ignore the fact that they were fighting for self-government before the majority of our people knew where the Philippine islands were. Two years before our war with Spain Rizal was put to death because of his advocacy of larger liberty for his people, and when I witnessed the celebration of the ninth anniversary of his death, I could not doubt that his martyrdom would be potent to stir the hearts of coming generations whenever any government, foreign or domestic, disregarded the rights of the people.

A year before our war with Spain the Filipino people were in insurrection against that country, and they demanded among other things "Parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, toleration of all religious sects, laws common with hers, and administrative and economic autonomy."

Here was a recognition of the doctrine of self-government and a recognition of the freedom of the press as the bulwark of liberty. There was also a demand for freedom of conscience and the right to administer their own affairs for their own interests. In the proclamation from which I have quoted there was no demand for independence, but it must be remembered that we did not demand independence from England until after we found it was impossible to secure justice under a colonial system.

Source of Colonial Evils.

Whether by the demand for "laws common with hers" the Filipinos meant that they wanted the protection of laws made by the Spanish for themselves, I do not know. If that is the meaning of their demand, they must be credited with understanding the importance of a principle to which some of our own public men seem to be blind. The evil of a colonial policy, the gross injustice of it, arises largely from the fact that the colony is governed by laws made for it, but not binding upon the country which makes the laws. The Mexican who does not participate in the making of the laws of his country has at least the protection of living under laws which bind the maker as well as himself. So with the Japanese who does not vote, the laws which he must obey must be obeyed by those who do vote, and the taxes he pays must be paid also by those who enjoy the franchise.

But under a colonial system the subject must obey a law made for him by one who is not himself subject to the law. The distinction is so plain that it ought to be apparent to anyone upon a moment's thought.

It is objected that but a small proportion of the Filipinos are educated; it may be answered that the number of the educated is increasing every day. The fact that the Filipinos support the schools so enthusiastically, even when those schools are established by outsider and when the teaching is in a language strange to them, speaks eloquently in their behalf. Nor is this a new-born zeal. The Aguinaldo government provided for public schools and, cock-fighting being prohibited, cock pits were actually turned into school houses in some sections over which the authority of his government extended.

It is objected by some that the intelligent Filipinos would under independence use the instrumentalities of government to tyrannize over the masses. This is not a new argument; it is always employed where an excuse for outside interference is desired, but there is no reason to believe that the Filipinos would be less interested in the people of their own race and blood than are aliens whose salaries are such as to make it impossible for them to claim that they serve from purely altruistic motives.

What Washington Proposes.

That those in power in Washington contemplate independence must be admitted, unless those who speak for the administration intend gross deception. In his speech on the evening of Rizal day, December last, General Smith, one of the Philippine commisison and head of the educational department, said: "Popular self-government for the Philippines is the purpose of both peoples. If either seeks to achieve it independent of the other, the experiment is doomed to failure. If both work for it harmoniously, there is no reason why it should not be accomplished. If it is accomplished, the history of the Philippines will hold no brighter page than that which recites the struggle of a simple people to fit themselves for independent government. If it is accomplished, the fairest page in American history will be that which records the creation of a new nation and the unselfish development of an allen race." If this is not a promise of ultimate independence, what possible meaning can the language have? If the administration does not intend that the Filipinos shall some day be independent, its representatives should not hold out this hope.

But there is even higher authority for the hope of independence. When the so-called "Taft party" visited the Philippines last summer, Secretary Taft made a speech in which he assumed to speak for the president. Referring to the president's opinion, he said: "He believes, as I believe, and as do most Americans who have had great familiarity with the facts, that it is absolutely impossible to hope that the lessons which it is the duty of the United States to teach the whole Filipino people, can be learned by them, as a body, in less than a generation; and that the probability is that it will take a longer period in which to render them capable of establishing and maintaining a stable independent government."

What Taft's Words Mean.

This, it is true, states when independence cannot be hoped for, rather than when it can be hoped for, and yet, no honest man would use the language Secretary Taft employed without having in his mind the idea that independence would be granted at some future date. But his concluding words even more clearly present the hope of ultimate independence, for he says: "All that can be asserted is that the policy which has several times been authoritatively stated, that this Filipino government shall be carried on solely for the benefit of the Filipino people and that self-government shall be extended to the Filipino people as speedily as they show themselves fitted to assume and exercise it, must be pursued consistently by the people of the United States or else they shall forfeit their honor."

Here Secretary Taft pledges the American government as far as he has power to pledge it—and he pledges the president also—to extend self-government to the Filipinos as rapidly as they show themselves fitted for it. The great trouble about these utterances and similar ones is that they are not binding upon the government, and the Filipinos are constantly disturbed by doubts and fears. Both at Manila and in the United States ridicule is often cast upon the aspirations of the Filipino people, and plans are made which are inconsistent with ultimate independence. The attempt on the part of the commission to issue perpetual franchises is naturally, and I think rightly, oppcsed by all Filipinos. If our occupation is to be temporary, why should our legislation be permanent? Why bind the ward in perpetuity so that he cannot control his own affairs when he reaches years of maturity? What is needed is an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Filipinos when a stable government is established. It is not necessary that a definite time shall be stated, nor is it important just when the Filipinos are to have their independence, as it is that the nation's purpose shall be made known in an authoritative way and that the subsequent acts of our government shall be in harmony with that declaration. I believe that a stable government can be established within a short time and that independence could be granted with advantage to our government and with safety to the Filipinos within five years at the farthest. But whether independence is to be granted in five or ten or fifteen years or after a long period, there should be no longer delay about announcing a policy. I have tried to impress upon the Filipinos the necessity of leaving this question to the people of the United States and the importance of proving in every possible way, the virtues, the character and the progress of the people; I have pointed out the folly of insurrection and the damage done to their cause by resorting to force of arms, but I am equally anxious to impress upon my own countrymen the importance of dealing frankly and fairly with the Filipinos.

Candid Statement of Purpose Needed.

We have more at stake in this matter than have the Filipinos. They still have their national greatness to achieve; our position is already established. We have the greatest republic known to history; we are the foremost champion of the doctrine of self-government and one of the leading exponents of Christianity. We can afford, aye, our honor requires us, to be candid with the Filipinos and to take them into our confidence. We dare not make them victims of commercial greed or use their islands for purely selfish purposes. It is high time to announce a purpose that shall be righteous and carry out that purpose by means that shall be honorable.

In my next article I shall endeavor to elaborate a plan which will, in my judgment, bring independence to the Filipinos, relieve us of the expense of colonialism, secure every legitimate advantage which could be expected from a permanent occupation of the islands and, in addition, enable our nation to set the world an example in dealing with tropical races.

Nature Study Made Pleasant for School Girls

BY MARGARET E. SANGSTER.

Nature study is supposed to be a quite different thing from the study of books. In a way it may be true that the two kinds of study are not very much alike, but in another way they cannot be separated. Nature is around us wherever we turn; above us stretches the sky; we breathe the air; we have, whether we live in town or in the country, the sights and sounds of nature near up all the time. If we have only a little back yard with a small plot of grass and a pot or two of flowers, if our only acquaintance with birds is derived from a canary or a parrot in a cage, we still may study nature, although not with the same degree of interest that will be ours when we make excursions to green fields.

I take it for granted that the girls who are studying nature are doing so to some purpose. Every one of us ought to known by sight and touch the trees in the locality nearest our homes. We should knew them by their peculiarities of bark and branch and bud and leaf. We should know the flowers that grow in our countryside, recognizing them by their peculiarities of root, stem and flower, of color and perfume.

We should likewise know the birds. Nothing is more absorbing than the study of birds. They are fascinating little creatures. Their habits, manners and customs are not so very opposite our own when we really penetrate their secrets. In a single rather small neighborhood in New Jersey a bird lover last summer counted no less than fifty-two varieties of birds. Their migrations, their nests, their patience in finding food for their young, the mother's and father's care in showing the young birds how to fly, all these are interesting parts of nature study. But it is not so much of this that I am thinking as I write to you, as of the way in which we may help one another in these days. Girls who live in the country ought to have a mission to their city cousins, and when spring and summer bring their pleasant days boxes of wild flowers and garden flowers, too, should be sent weekly to the schoolrooms where the pupils have no easy way of getting specimens for themselves. Schools in different parts of the country should exchange flowers, shells and other interesting properties of the nature study class, and it would not be at all a bad idea if there were a regular system of correspondence between Jean of the little village and Betty of the big city, all about the work each was doing in her study of nature.

Another helpful thing that I recommend is the marking of passages in the poetry and prose that you read with an especial look to their bearing on nature. You will find that the poets care a great deal about the winds and the waves, the sky and the earth, and that real poetry is full of beautiful allusions to the phenomena of the world we live in. Tennyson, whom you will study in your classes in English literature, has so much intimate knowledge of nature that his poetry is almost a guide book to the flowers of his native land. Longfellow, Whittier and Emerson have a great deal to say about nature. When you read the great masters of fiction you will find that they have whole pages devoted to descriptions of scenery and that some of them paint nature in words as if with the brush of an artist.

A good plan is to have a commonplace book and whenever you find something that you like write it down for future reference.

* * *

When I was a girl we studied botany out under the trees. There was a particularly charming bit of woodland near our school, and our nature study was always carried on out of doors. Our teacher had a seat on a gray rock, covered with a blanket shawl. Maybe you never heard of a blanket shawl, but if you had gone with Miss Jane and had been privileged to carry her Scotch plaid over your arm you would have known what a delightful and convenient wrap it was.

The girls grouped themselves around on the grass near a brookside and as the lesson went on the brook sang and sparkled and the sound of its lullaby and the gleam of its waters made music and sunshine in our souls. We learned a great deal about botany in those enchanted afternoons, and we learned, too, a love of nature that is not gained by those who study her only in dried specimens between whitewashed walls.

You may be interested to known that we always carried a luncheon on the expeditions, and it was not the least interesting part of the occasion. Girls who fell below a certain percentage in their studies were not permitted to take up botany in their work. The opportunity of studying nature was thus made very honorable and precious, and we held it as something worth striving for.

* * *

The study of astronomy captivates those who have a scientific turn of mind. To learn the names of the constellations and to recognize some of the planets when they appear above the horizon is not beyond any ordinary mind, but the study of astronomy is, on the whole, too abstruse to be attractive to very young girls. Definitions and formulas you may learn, but to grasp the principles of astronomy you require maturity and insight; for these you must wait. But you need not wait to learn by heart Addison's exquisite lyric that begins:

The spacious firmament on high,
And all the blue, etheral sky,
And spangled heavens a shining frame,
Their great original proclaim.

I knew a wee tot once, a dimpled creature with serious eyes, who did not want to take lessons in music. Lifting her little hand she pointed upward and said: "I would rather study astronomy." Although the child did not know it, astronomy and music and mathematics are all somehow akin to one another, and she who is proficient in any one of them may hope to become proficient in them all.

One April day as I watched the birds, our little brothers of the air, busy with their housekeeping, I wrote a bit of verse that you may like in any month of the year, since, though it has an April measure, you may read it in May or June, and like it just as well.

The Building of the Nest.

They'll come again to the apple tree—
Robin and all the rest—
When the orchard branches are fair to see,
In the snow of the blossom drest;
And the prettiest thing in the world will be
The building of the nest.

Weaving it well, so round and trim,
Hollowing it with care,
Nothing too far away for him,
Nothing for her too fair,
Hanging it safe on the topmost limb,
Their castle in the air.

Ah! mother-bird, you'll have weary days,
When the eggs are under your breast,
And shadow may darken the dancing rays
When the wee ones leave the nest;
But they'll find their wings in a glad amaze,
And God will see to the rest.

So come to the trees with all your train,
When the apple blossoms grow;
Through the April shimmer of sun and rain,
Go flying to and fro;
And sing to our hearts as we watch again
Your fairy buildings grow.

THE OLD PLACES.

(Milwaukee Sentinel.)

Say, how would you like to go with me
Away from the greed and spoiling,
To a place I know where the fields stretch green
And there's naught of strife and toiling?
And how would you like to forget the noise
And these haunted city faces,
And bury them deep in the dreams we'd have
In the good old boytime places?

Say, how would you like to go with me
To the willow's friendly cover,
Down to the river where, long ago,
The pickerel used to hover?
And how would you like to wander again
As we did with sunburned faces,
And bare, brown feet, and ragged clothes,
In the good old boytime places?

Say, how would you like to go with me
And forget your tribulations,
In the romp and rove and heedless life
We knew in our school vacations?
And how would it be to find the pond,
The one where the old millrace is,
And dive in its waters cool and deep—
One of those boytime places?